

11
THE

59
Deplorable State

OF

New-England,

By Reason of a Covetous and Treacherous

Governour,

AND

Puſillanimous COUNSELLORS

With a Vindication of the Hon^{ble} Mr. HIGGINSON,
Mr. MASON, and ſeveral other Gentlemen from the
Scandalous and Wicked *Accuſation* of the VOTES, Or-
dered by Them to be Published in their BOSTON
News-Letter.

To which is Added,

An ACCOUNT of the Shameful *Miſcarriage* of
the Late EXPEDITION againſt

PORT-ROYAL.

LONDON, Printed in the Year 1708

Written by Sir Henry Ashurst
who had been agent for
Massachusetts from the year
1688 and was the enemy of
Gov. Dudley.

From Bishop Kennet's
remarks.



With a vindication of the Hon. Mr. Higginson
Mr. Ashurst and several other Gentlemen
scandalized and wickedly abused in the
debated by them to be published in the
News-Letter

To which is added

An ACCOUNT of the Shipwreck
the late EXPEDITION

PORT-ROYAL

—————

LONDON Printed in the Year

To the Right Honourable, the
Earl of Sunderland,
Her MAJESTY's Principal
Secretary of State.

My LORD,

THIS Deplorable Narrative, Contains but a small Part of the Grievances of *New-England*, under their Present Governour, who is a perfect Reverse to Our Gracious QUEEN, whose Person he Represents.

New-England in K. Charles the First's Time, was first Inhabited by Protestants of the Church of *England*: When several Learned and Pious Parish Ministers, were Silenc'd here, for Refusing to Read the *Book of Sports* on the Lord's Day, and many of them Imprisoned; the Love that several Gentlemen of Quality had for their Ministers, induced them to Sell their pleasant Seats and Leave their Native Country, to go to an uninhabited Wilderness, where they had Cause to Fear the Wild Beasts, and Wilder Men;

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For

The Epistle Dedicatory,

For if Religion be Worth any Thing, 'tis Worth every thing.

So that this Country, (by the Blessing of GOD, who always Rewards a Vertuous People with Temporal Blessings) was lately become a Great N A T I O N ; but Col. *Dudley*, in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, was Intrusted with the Precious *Depositum*, their Greatest Treasure, their Religious Priviledges, and Civil Liberties, which were Conveyed to them by C H A R T E R, but were both Betray'd by him. Yet notwithstanding the said *Dudley* has, by his Cunning Insinuations, Obtained the Favour to be made the Present Governour by Her now Majesty, of the *Massachuset's* Colony in *New-England*. But his Male-Administration, hath Caused several Considerable Merchants and Inhabitants there, Believing their Country to be in Imminent Danger by by such a Governour, to Petition Our most Gracious Sovereign for his Removal, Charging him with Crimes of the Highest Guilt ; which the Petitioners did Humbly Hope, would have soon Remov'd him had not the great Piety of the Queen, interposed (who has always had a Special Regard to the several Ministers in her Dominions. Upon the said Governour's Council, producing an *Address*, said to be from the Ministers of *New-England*, Commending his Government, and Praying his Continuance : Which *Address* is a part of his Crime, being Obtained by the Threats and Promises of his *Agents*, and with Difficulty Subscribed by some Ministers in the Country, but the most Considerable amongst them, and the Ministers of *Boston*, Refus'd it, who Detest his Person, and Pray for his Removal.

And

to the Earl of Sunderland.

And this is Apparent; for in their *Address* the Ministers Thank'd the Queen for the Tolleration Act, and the *Assurances* of Tollerating them in their Religion, which is the *ONLY* Establish'd Religion of their Country. And, 'tis much more Reasonable That the *Kirk* of North Britain, in their *Addresses* to the Queen, should Thank Her Majesty for Tollerating *Presbytery* among them, which is their National Church Government, they having formerly had some Sort of *Episcopal Government* among them: But these People never had any other Church Government than they Now have.

Besides what is now Offer'd, there are several other Reasons for his Removal. He is a *Native* of the Country: His Relations, and those he calls his Friends, are the fittest Men for all the *Civil and Military Posts*. His Son, whom he calls the *Queen's Attorney-General*, being the only *Minister of State*, under him, by which any can have Access to his Person for *common Justice*. --- This is the *Third Time* that he has been Trusted with Power from the *Crown* in *America* and he has constantly Abus'd it, to the Dishonour of the Government, and almost Ruin of the People he was sent to Govern.

My LORD,

Your Lordship's Great Abilities have Rais'd you to be a *Great Minister of State*, in this Critical Juncture. Your Lordship's *known Hatred* of Oppression, and Love of Liberty, and the *English Government*, makes up your *Finish'd Character*. My Lord, *New-England* in your Lordship's Province, and under Your Care, and

The Epistle Dedicatory, &c.

and Flyes to your Lordship for Protection ; and Humbly Prays your Lordship, to Represent their *Distressed Case* to our most Gracious QUEEN. A Queen, that would have all Her Subjects, (even in the *Remotest Parts of Her Dominions*) Easy and Happy In doing which, your Lordship will Oblige a whole Country of *Protestants*, to send up their Fervent Prayers to Heaven for your Lordship's Long Life and Happiness ; and lay a Lasting Obligation upon

My LORD, with the utmost Respect,

and Sincerity, your Lordships most Humble,

most Obliging, and most Faithful Servant,

A. H.

✂ The Reader is Desired to take Notice, that the following Sheets being Printed before the Epistle Dedicatory was Writ, we could not Conveniently Insert in their proper Place, these Material Advices lately fallen into our Hands. viz.

Boston, July, 17. 1708.

OUR present General Assembly have Acted like Men. They have Turned out of the Council, several of the King's Creatures. And the Country has Chosen better Representatives than they had the Last Year. The present House of Commons here, has Voted an Address to the Queen in which they Declare, That they Declined sending a former Address, because there was an Article in it, Applauding the Governour's Conduct, and Praying his Continuance, &c.

TO THE READER.

IF the New-England Counsellors, (as well as their Governour) are Publickly Exposed in a Land a Thousand Leagues Distant from them, they have no Reason to Complain of Hard Dealing, *Lex Talionis* Requires that it should be so; for it is nothing but what they themselves have done, by Gentlemen who are on several Accounts Superior to them. We Wish they may be Sensible of the great Hurt their Country is like to Suffer by their Means. They have Discouraged their Friends from ever Appearing again in their Behalf, when if they should, they, to Please their Governour, will in Print, Brand them for Scandalous and Wicked Accusers.

Their Fault is very much Aggravated, in that after they Saw an Invoice which mentions an Hundred Thousand Nails, sent to the Queen's Enemies at Port-Royal, Allowed by the Governour under his Own Hand, they Caused their Abusive Vote to be Printed. Only we Hear,
that

that their Secretary, who is a Prudent Man, and one of their Counsellors, was against the Publication of their Scandalous Vote.

But we likewise Hear, that some of them moved that several Affidavits, which had been laid before Her Majesty in Council, and were after that Printed here in London, might be Burnt, because they Complained of their Governours Notorious Briberies, and other Male-Administrations. Probably the same Persons will make the like Proposal again, if a New Governour does not Negative them out of his Council, which we Suppose he will, unless the Representatives of the Province (as in Duty they are Bound) shall save him the Trouble.

The Reader may Depend upon it, that as to Matter of Fact, there is nothing in this Narrative but Exact Truth; what is therein Related, is not only Affirmed by Gentlemen Worthy of Credit lately come from Boston, but by Letters from as Eminent Persons as any in New-England.



The

The Deplorable STATE OF New-England.

SECTION I.

SOME Late *Votes* passed in the Assembly at *Boston*, and Printed in the *Boston News-Letter*, Cause us to Reflect with some Wonder on the *Deplorable State of the Plantations*.

They that are sent over as *Governours* thither, appear as Persons of Suitable *Abilities*, and Approved *Loyalty*. They are in Favour with some Ministers of *State*, who Recommend them to the King or Queen for the Time being; and are in Fee with their *Clarks*, by whose Means, their Business is done the more Effectually. When they arrive with their *Commissions*, they Express themselves in Obliging Terms; and the Ravish'd People, who are quite Giddy with Joy, if they have *Governours*, which they may Hope, will not Cut their *Throats*, make them Noble Presents, and send Home an *Address of Thanks* for such Admirable *Governours*.

Their next Work is, by all possible Artifices, to get into all *Offices* about the Country, such as are, or they know, will be, meer *Creatures* to them; or at least, such as are not Furnished either with *Courage* or *Conduct*, to make any *Complaints* Home against them, in Case of any Male-Administration.

After this, let the *Governour* do what he will; either there will be no Body Strong enough to Repair unto the Crown, with due Remonstrances; or if any Body do, the *Governour* has many Ways to Molest him and his, and to Defeat all his Undertakings. Yea, 'tis Ten Thousand to One, but at the

very Time, when an Oppressed Person is Solliciting his own, and an Oppressed People's Cause, the Governour may have so Modell'd the *General Assembly*, that they shall Pass wretched *Votes* to his Advantage, and *Kiss the Hand*, which all the open Eyes in the Country see *Stabbing* of them.

One would have thought, the People of *N. England* should have been Sensible of their Good Fortune in it, that when they are Betrayed in Miserable Circumstances by an Hungry Governour, who has been wilking to Enrich himself and his Family, on the Ruines of his Country, some Gentlemen of Note, have Interposed with Humble *Addresses* to Her Majesty on their Behalf. They have no *Agent* here, but what is Entirely in the Interest of their Governour. When the whole *House* of Representatives sent over hither, an *Address* to the Queen, relating to Matters of the Greatest Importance, the *Agent* whom they had Imploy'd and Rewarded with some Hundreds of Pounds, Refused to Present the *Address*, because it would not suit with the Governour's Interest, and Wrote them Word, *That no Address must be Presented, except Signed by the Governour.* And yet after this, the same Gentleman could Present *Addresses* for the Continuance of the Governour, which were Signed by *Private Hands*, and Procured by *Ways* and *Means* little to the Honour of those Concerned. Some Gentlemen here, knowing the Oppress'd, and Betray'd Condition of that poor People, have *Address'd* on their Behalf; and have said nothing in their *Address*, but what they had the *Oaths* of several Good Men, to Support the Truth of what was Asserted: But, lo! to their Surprise, they find themselves in the *Boston News-Letter* Exposed, as having been the Authors of, *Scandalous and Wicked Accusations!* The *Counsellors* of *N. England*, have done as much as lyes in them for ever to Discourage all Gentlemen here from Appearing for the Country, let never such Difficult Circumstances be brought upon it; but we will Pity them, as Trapann'd into, *they know not what themselves!* However, if they will allow no Body here to Speak for their *Country*, they can't forbid us to Speak for *Ourselves*, which they have now made but too Necessary for us.

Letters from *New-England* Inform us, That the Great and Only Reason, why some of the Council there will *firmly Believe* more Charitably of their Governour *Dudley*, than many others do, is, *Because his Family and Interest is there, and therefore 'tis unreasonable to Believe, that he would do any thing that should hurt the Country.*

But, Was not his *Family and Interest* there in *Sir Edmund Andross's* time ? And yet a Book Published here, by the Agents of *New-England*, after the Revolution, Intituled, *The Revolution in New-England Justified*, has given the World a sad Story of what a Colonel *Dudley* may do, towards the Ruining a Country which has his *Family and Interest* in it. Read that History, and you will find, that after Col. *Dudley* had been an Agent for the Country, he Tack'd about, and Join'd with the Instruments that overthrew their *Charter*, and Accepted an Illegal and Arbitrary Commission from *K. James*, by which he held the Government, until the Arrival of *Sir Edmund Andross*, and then was, as *President* of the Council, and *Chief Judge* of the Territory, a *Chief Tool* of all the ensuing Barbarous, and Infamous Administration. They Governed without an *Assembly*, when *Laws* were Proposed in the Council, tho' the *major part* of the Council should happen to Dissent, yet if the Governour were Positive there was a *President* at the Board, by whose Allowance the *Laws* were Immediately Engrossed, Published, and Executed : And Judge *Dudley* did not Contradict it, when some of the Principal Gentlemen in the Country were told at the Council Board, *You have no more Priviledges left you but this, that you are not Bought and Sold for Slaves.* By the Sequel we shall see not this neither. A *Juncto*, (wherein how often this Chief Judge, was of the *Quorum*, is now forgotten) made a World of *Laws*, which Pillaged that Poor People Desperately. They Levied a Tax on the whole People without any *Assembly* ; and when the Principal Persons, and some others in *Ipswich* on that Occasion, with all possible Modesty moved, that the King should be Humbly Petition'd for the Liberty of an *Assembly*, they were Committed to Prison for an *High Misdemeanour*, and were Denied an *Habeas Corpus*, and Drag'd many Miles out of their own County, to Answer it at a Court
in

in *Boston*, where *Jurors* were pickt for the Turn, that were neither *Free-holders*, nor so much as *Inhabitants*. They were all Fined severely, and laid under great Bonds for their Good Behaviour; besides which, the Hungry Officers Extorted Fees of near Two Hundred Pounds, where they would not have risen to Ten Pounds, had any Law of *England*, or Justice been Observed. The Townsmen of many other Places were served in the like Fashion; and our Judge *Dudley* was a Principal Actor in all this Wickedness. It was now Denied, that any Man was Owner of a Foot of Land in all the Colony. Judge *Dudley* gave it as his Judgment under his Hand. *Writs of Intrusion* were presently served upon the Chief Gentlemen in the Country, to Compel them, and others by the Terror of their Example, to take *Patents* for the Lands which they had Quietly Possessed for Fifty or Sixty Years together. For these *Patents* there were such Exorbitant Prices Demanded, that Fifty Pounds would not Purchase for its Owner, an Estate not worth Two Hundred; nor could all the Money and Moveables in the Territory, have Defrayed the Charges of Patenting the Lands.

If the *Harpies* were at any time a little out of Money, they Invented Pretences to Imprison the Best Men in the Country, and tho' there Appeared not the least Information of any Crime against them, yet they were put unto intollerable Expences, and the Benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* was Denied unto them. Judge *Dudley* knows this, and we suppose he has not Forgotten either Colonel *Saltonstall*, or Major *Appleton*. Pickt *Juries* were commonly used, for the Trouble of Honest and Worthy Men, and they were Hurried out of their own Counties to be Tried, when *Juries* for the Turn were not likely to be found there. Judge *Dudley* knows this; and we suppose, he Remembers the Famous Mr. *Morton*.

In Short, all things were going to Wreck, but yet Colonel *Dudley* was like to Inrich himself and his Family in the General Ship-wreck. There lies the Mystery!

These things, and many more such things, are Asserted in the Book aforesaid, not only by the Oaths of many Honest Gentlemen, but also a Declaration Signed by the Honourable Hands of Judge *Staughton*; and Major General *Winthrop*, and
Colonel

Colonel *Shrimpton*, and other Members of the Council.

The World has Heard how narrowly Col. *Dudley* Escaped a *De-Witting* for these his Follies, from the Inraged People in the *Revolution*. Being then sent over a Prisoner to *England*, he with the rest, were here set at Liberty. He returned, with a Commission for the Place of *Chief Judge* in the Province of *New-York*, where his first Work, after his Arrival was, to Condemn to Death, the Lieutenant Governour of the Province, and another Gentleman, for not Surrendring the Government, before the Arrival of Governour *Slaughter* with his Commission. The Condemnation and Execution of these Two Gentlemen, was a Bloody Business : It was afterwards Examined in the Parliament, where Colonel *Dudley* underwent a Confusion, which will never be worn off; and Mr. *Constantine Phips*, Prosecuted the Matter with so much Demonstration, that Eminent Persons in both Houses, Declared it, *A Barbarous Murder*; King, Lords, and Commons, did as good as Declare it so, and by an *Act of Parliament* Revoked the *Attainder* of the Murdered Gentlemen. On this Occasion, Judge *Stoughton*, (who yet was always known to be as Partial to Col. *Dudley*, and his Interest, as any Man in *New-England*) said to some of his Friends, what he had been heard formerly to say unto others, *Alas, to get a little Money, he would make his own Father hold up his Hand at the Bar*. There, Gentlemen, you have again the Key to Explain the Matter; which because you can't see thro', you firmly Believe as you do !

After many Years absence from his Family, my Lord *Belmont*, the Governour of *New-England* Dies. Col. *Dudley*, by many fair Promises, both to Gentlemen here, and at his own Home, obtains Recommendations for a Succession in the Government. He had not been long in the Government, before the following MEMORIAL was sent over to *London*.

A

MEMORIAL,

*On the Behalf of the Province of the Massachusets's Bay, in NEW-ENGLAND;
Relating to the Administration of their Present Governour, Colonel Dudley.*

I. **O**NE Principal Grievance, which Comprehends many under it, is, The Course of *Bribery*, which runs thro' the Governour's Administration, whereby the Queen's Government is greatly Exposed in a Country where *Bribery* has rarely, if ever before this, been known to be Practised. The Governour having brought in his Son to be Attorney General, this Corruption is the more Effectually carried on between them, unto the great Oppression of the People.

Only Two Instances, among many, shall be Reported in this *Memorial*.

1. Certain People having Purchased Land at a New Plantation called *Nashoba*, and wanting a Confirmation of their Title, by an Act of the General Assembly, (as is Usual in such Cases) they could not have the Governour's Assent unto the Act, without a *Bribe* of a Thoulard Acres of the best Land, and in the Center of the Plantation, and to the Ruin of the rest.

2. Also

" 2. Also, A Tract of Land at *Nipmuck*, belonging to
 " Nine or Ten Partners, when Both Houses in the General
 " Assembly had passed the *Bill*, to Allow their Title, (as
 " was Requisite by an Old Law of the Country) the Go-
 " vernour would not Sign the Act, until he had a Bribe of
 " Twenty Pounds, and One whole Share of the Land, which
 " was Valued at One Hundred and Fifty Pounds more.
 " But, if a *Commission of Enquiry* could be Obtained, there
 " would be such Practices of this Nature Discovered, as are
 " hardly to be Parallel'd.

" II. The Governour, meerly to Gratify his own Arbi-
 " trary Will and Pleasure, did for some while Refuse to fill
 " up the necessary Number of *Judges*; by which Means, the
 " Courts dropt, and the *Course of Justice* was Obstructed; and
 " the Oppressed People were Defeated in their *Suits*, to the
 " Damage of many Hundreds of Pounds.

" III. There have been odd *Collusions* with the Pyrates
 " of *Quelch's* Company, of which one Instance is, That there
 " was Extorted the Sum of about Thirty Pounds from some
 " of the Crue, for Liberty to Walk at certain times in the
 " *Prison Yard*; and this Liberty having been Allow'd for
 " Two or Three Days unto them, they were again Confined
 " to their former Wretched Circumstances.

" IV. An Army of Volunteers went out, and did Good
 " Service upon the *French and Indian Enemy* at *Acady*. They
 " were Incouraged by an Act of the Governour and Gene-
 " ral Assembly, which Promised the Soldiers a Certain
 " Share of the Plunder. When the Soldiers returned, some
 " Officers, without their Consent or Knowledge, and before
 " the Division of the Plunder, made the Governour a Con-
 " siderable Present out of it: Whereupon he so managed
 " the Matter with the said Officers, as to Cheat and Cut off
 " the Soldiers of near One Half that the Act of the Assembly
 " had Promis'd them! When the House of Representa-
 " tives Applied themselves to the Governour on this Occa-
 " sion, they could get nothing from him. By this means, no

" more

" more Volunteers are like to appear in Her Majesty's Service?

" The Governour's manner is, To trample on the Assembly with gross Indignities; and such as they never have received from their former Governours. Nor can they have any Redress of Grievances, though many have been from Time to Time Represented.

" And when Bills for the Payment of the just Debts of the Province, are Presented to him to be Signed, he has Declared, he would not Sign them, except he were himself Gratified with Sums Demanded of them.

" On these, and many more such Accounts, it is humbly Conceived, That it would be much for Her Majesty's Interest, if a more Acceptable Governour were placed over that Province.

This was the *Memorial*; but because here was no Body to Prosecute it, it fell to the Ground.

Much about the same time, there came to Light a little more of Colonel *Dudley's* Designs upon the *new Charter* of the Province. It seems, he was as willing to do the same Kindness for this, that he did for the *old One*; and that he was at this very time doing for the Colony of *Connecticut*; which, if it were Accomplished, would lay the Country Open to an Innundation of Calamities. His Son *Paul*, (the great Instrument of his Oppressions) Writes over to his Friend in *London*, a Letter, wherein are these following Words.

Boston,

Boston, 12th Jan. 170³.

Dear KINSMAN,

I Confess I am Ashamed almost to Think, I should be at Home so long, and not let you know of it, till now. Tho' after all, a New-England Correspondence is scarce worth your having.----- I Refer you to * Mr. ----- for an Account of every thing, especially about the Government, and the Colledge; both which, are Discoursed of here, in Chimney Corners, and Private Meetings, as confidently as can be. If there should be any Occasion, you must be sure to stir your Self and Friends, and show your Affection and Respect to my Father, who Loves you well, and Bid me Tell you so.---- This Country will never be worth Living in, for Lawyers and Gentlemen, till the CHARTER IS TAKEN AWAY. My Father and I sometimes Talk of the Queen's Establishing a COURT OF CHANCERY,

* See P. Dudley's Original Letter to Mr. W. Wharton Printed at London with some Necessary Queries.

in this Country ; I have Writ about it, to Mr. Blathwayt : If the Matter should Succeed, you might get some Place worth your Return ; of which I should be very Glad. If I can any ways Serve you or your Friends, Pray Signify it to (Dear SIR)

Your Affectionate Friend,

and Humble Servant,

Paul Dudley.

This *Apocryphal Epistle of Paul*, [not a Saint Paul, we can Assure ye !] needs no *Commentary* ! ——— But,

These are *Old Stories*, ye must now come to some *New Ones*.

SECT.

S E C T. II.

BY Letters from *New-England*, we are Informed how Matters past in the last Sessions of their General Assembly, which was in *October* and *November* 1707. One would have Imagined, that the *Maſt-Fleet*, which brings us our Letters of Intelligence, had been the *Consolidator*, coming back with Intelligence from the *World in the Moon*: For ſuch things could never have happen'd, but among a People very *Lunatick*. — And, Firſt let us begin, as in Good Manners Bound, with the *Upper Houſe*.

Their Governour *Dudley*, produced to the Council, the Copy of an Addreſs to the Queen's Maſteſty, Signed by above Twenty Gentlemen in *London*, in which, out of the Reſpect to a Country for which they were more Generouſly Concerned, than ſome that were under greater Obligations, they Petitioned for *Dudley's* Removal from his Government; Alledging, among other Weighty Reaſons. That he had Countenanced a private Trade and Correſpondence with Her Maſteſty's Enemies, the French, and the Indians which are in their Interests. He Required his Counſellors immediately to Clear him from theſe Imputations. He came upon them with his Demand, on the *Saturday* next, when they were (as they uſually then are) in the Hurry of Breaking up. 'Tis the Time, when the Governour commonly makes any thing to Paſs, that either Houſe muſt be either *Trick'd*, or *Tir'd* into. Three or Four of the Council, particularly *Brown*, *Sewal*, and *Pain*, Pray'd, That ſince the Thing was both New and Weighty, it might be put off till *Monday*. The Governour, with a Boiſterous Fury, Required them to do it immediately; and they did it immediately: At once they Ruſhed into a *Vote*, wherein they ſay,

Upon Reading the *Address*, Offer'd Her Majesty, against his Excellency, our present Governour, Signed, Nath. Higginson, &c. We firmly Believe, and are of Opinion, the Allegations therein, of the Governour's Trading, or allowing a Trade with Her Majesty's Enemies, the French, and Indians in their Interests, is a Scandalous and Wicked Accusation. Passed Unanimously.

Isaac Addington, Secret.

The Council being Brow-beaten into such a Vote, one of that Board, namely, Mr. Samuel Sewal, who is also a Judge of the Superior Court; but a Person of Unspotted Integrity, thought himself Bound in Conscience to Exhibit a Remonstrance against this Rash Vote: His Relation as a Brother-in-Law to the Governour, did not get the Upper-Hand of his Conscience; but he Presented his Remonstrance to the Board, and had it Enter'd on File; from whence one of our Correspondents has Obtained a Copy. 'Tis as follows.

Tuesday, November, 25. 1707.

THE Reasons of my With-drawing my Vote, from what was Passed in Council upon Saturday, November the First, relating to an *Address* Offer'd to Her Majesty, Sign'd, Nath. Higginson, &c.

I. Because my Motion, for leaving the Consideration of it, till the Monday following, was not Admitted; and it was Enter'd upon, and pass'd about Noon, in a very short Time; being a Matter of great Concernment to our Leige Lady, Queen ANNE, to the Province, to his Excellency our Governour, and to the Council and Representatives.

II. The

" II. The Governour's *Personal Interest* was much in it,
 " and therefore I humbly Conceive, the Vote ought to have
 " been Debated and Framed by the Members of the Council,
 " apart by themselves, in the Absence of the Governour.

" III. The Words [*firmly Believe,*] and [*always Appa-*
 " *rent,*] were never Pleasing to me. And now, I do not
 " *firmly Believe*, that the Governour did no way Allow Mr.
 " *Borland*, and Capt. *Vetch*, their Trading Voyage to Her
 " Majesty's Enemies, the *French*.

" *Qui non vetat Peccare, cum possit, Jubet.*

" Not that I Suspect, the Governour design'd to Hurt the
 " Province; but to *Gratify Grateful Merchants*. And I rea-
 " dily and Thankfully Acknowledge the Governour's Or-
 " ders for the Defence of the *Frontiers*, to be truly Excel-
 " lent; † both respecting the Suitableness of the Orders
 " themselves, and the Quickness of their Dispatch : And
 " I Bless God for the Success that has Attended them.

" IV. I have been Acquainted with Mr. *Nathaniel Higgin-*
 " *son* these Fourty Years ; and I cannot Judge, the Offering
 " this Address to Her Majesty, to be in him a *Scandalous and*
 " *Wicked Accusation*, unless I know his Inducements. And
 " I fear, this Censure may be of ill Consequence to the Pro-
 " vince in time to come ; by Discouraging Persons of Worth
 " and Interest, to Venture in Appearing for them, tho' the
 " Necessity should be never so Great.

" *Samuel Sewall.*

† The Gentleman, with his usual Goodness, is willing to make
 the Best of any Good Thing. His Meaning is, That when the
 New-Englanders had the Good Fortune to be Advised of an Ap-
 proach of the Enemy, the Governour would (which was a won-
 derful piece of Sagacity) Order a Number of Soldiers to Repair
 to the Frontiers !

Tho'

Tho' this Gentleman had thus Recalled his Vote, (and another Gentleman present in the Council, never had a Vote put to him) and he Insisted on it, as we are Informed, that it would be a *Direct Falshood in Matter of Fact*. Now to call this, an *Unanimous Vote*, yet we find it was after this Ordered to be Printed in the *Boston News-Letter*, with a PASSED UNANIMOUSLY. We cannot Conceive how the Council could Order a Direct Falshood to be Printed, if their Souls were their own. Or, if they would so Misrepresent Judge Sewall and Colonel Higginson (Brother to Mr. Nathaniel Higginson) it may be, they did also Misrepresent themselves, in saying, *they firmly Believe*, when it is strange if they do really Believe it.

Notwithstanding their News-Letter says, their Vote was Passed *Unanimously*, Worthy Gentlemen in *New-England* have given us such a Character of their *Winthrop*, their *Hutchinson*, their *Foster*, and of some others of them, as that we cannot *Firmly Believe*, that they ever Consented to have the Honorable Mr. *Higginson* so Stigmatized in the *Boston Infamous News-Letter*. Nor, is it to be Imagined, that they are all so *Paradoxical*, as we hear some of them are ; for you cannot with a Beetle, beat it into some of them, but that if a Vote obtain a *Majority*, it is to be called an *Unanimous Vote*. We have been Told, (and we Thought so, by hearing their Talk, who came from thence) that they Speak as Good *English* at *Boston*, as they do in *London* : But we perceive in the *Council Chamber* there, they begin to forget the *English Tongue* ; and they have lost the Sense of the Word *Unanimous*.

One may Guess at the Politick Reason, which Drew to many of them into that Undeliberate, Inconsiderate Vote at aforesaid ; by what One of them, (a principal Stickler for Majority being *Unanimity*) utter'd in a Barber's Shop, with much Openness, that the Noise of it has reach'd over hish to *London*, That it was Best for us, to keep this Governour, (*tho' he had done very bad things*) for he had sufficiently Spunged up the People, and had now got Money enough ; he was now Satisfied [No, Sir, by your Leave, 'tis the Thirst of a Dropsy !]

had privately promis'd the Council, he would do so no more. Whereas if another Governour come, he will come Hungry, and we must be Squeezed over again !

Had the Gentlemen of the Council caused their Vote to run in some Softer Terms ; as, That they were Sorry such Eminent Persons, as Mr. Higginson, and Mr. Mason, &c. had been Imposed upon by such Informations, as produced their Address to Her Majesty. This had been somewhat like Gentlemen, tho' not like Counsellors : For some of them Own, they had never seen any of the Affidavits made before the Queen and Council, nor any of those other Things anon to be produced, when they Passed their Hasty Vote. But for them now to run upon these Eminent Persons, with a Clamour of Scandalous and Wicked Accusations ; yea, Publickly to Stigmatize them in their Infamous News-Letter, as being Scandalous and Wicked Accusers ! Truly therein they have not Honoured themselves. The Higginson they Vilify, is a Person every way much Superior to the Best of them : The Honour and Figure he has Obtained by his good Conduct in the East-Indies, will not be Impaired by any Affronts from the West-Indies. The Mason whom they Throw Dirt upon, was a Member of their Council, before a great part of them were so ; and Served their Agents with no small Assistances.

'Tis Unintelligible ! Why will the Massachuset Counsellors permit themselves to be made the Tools of their Governour's particular Designs ? Why will Counsellors that are Chosen by the People, be less Concerned for, less Faithful to the People, than the Counsellors in the other Plantations, who are not by the Choice of the People brought unto the Board ; where yet we see, they often Prove Thorns in the Sides of Evil Governours ? Will you give your Friends at a Thousand Leagues distance from you, Leave to Advise you ? We make no doubt, there are Wise and Good Men at your Board. We make no doubt, you are often Over-Voted by some of your Brethren, coming from your Country Towns, who are not Over-Stockt with more than One of those Qualities. But where is your Courage ? In Truth, 'Tis the least of your Talents ; you must get a little more of it. You should be ready to say before the Governour's Face, what

what you Talk so freely behind his Back, that the Report of it reaches over the *Atlantick*.

You know, That when the Governour will have any thing pass among you, all your Humble Intreaties to have a few Hours Time to Think upon it, signify nothing ; he will have it go *just now*, and you *let it go*. So you are ever now and then push'd into you know not what yourselves, and you durst not Lisp your Dissatisfaction. You know, That when Officers are to be Elected; the Governour must Issue out a Notification for a *General Council*, to come together at the Day ; but *on the Day* the thing is rarely done ; 'tis put off Two or Three Days till you are Dispersed, and a *Nick of Time* is taken, in which Elections are carried on, which we hear, much Disoblige the Publick ; and Justices are Created, which have brought the Queen's Commissions under such Disparagement, that we hear many of the Best Gentlemen among you, Scorn to Accept of them.

You know, that things are managed with Tricks, Frauds, and Juggles, without Numbers ; and yet, you durst not Open your Mouths. You cannot but know, That your Governour ever now and then, will Violently Assert a Thing, and you Assent to it : Anon, in the very same Sessions of the Court, he will as Violently Assert a Thing Diametrically Opposite unto it, (as the Service of some ill Cause may drive him to) and you durst not say, that you don't Assent to *that* also.

We Understand, that your former Governour, the Earl of *Bellamont*, did not use to Treat you so ; and was it for this, that you offered such an Indignity unto that Noble Person, as to Vote, *The taking off his Speech from the File*, as soon as Colonel *Dudley* (being one of *Tory* Principles, which my Lord was not) at his first coming moved you to it, and made you the Tools of his Malice against the Earl of *Bellamont*, for sticking so Close to him in the Parliament, upon the Barbarous Murder (as he would always call it) of *Leisler* and *Milburn* ? Your Governour with a Torrent of Language, and Mixture of *Coaking* and *Bouncing*, and Confident Assertions of Things (True or False, 'tis all one, you can't Disprove them) has been *too many* for you. We Advise

wise you, to Unite more together, a sufficient Number of
 you, and present Strong Remonstrances on such Occasions,
 if the Successor (which we are Satisfied he will not) should
 go on in the late Methods. And we Advise you, That you
 would not be so monstrously Afraid of the Governour's put-
 ting his *Negative* upon you, the last *Wednesday* of *May*.
 Should you be Negatived out of the Council, for your Fide-
 lity to your Country, it would be a much greater Honour
 to you, than to be there; and no great Honour to them that
 are left behind: But you are already Chosen, and Sworn
 to Serve till others are Chosen; if the Representatives are
 not Satisfied in the Reasons of the Governour's Negative,
 they will Declare, That they will not Proceed unto another
 Choice. We would Beg their Pardon, that we presume to
 give them this Advice: Then do you pluck up your Spi-
 rits: Nothing but an Act of the Assembly, can Remove a
 Chosen Counsellor. You may appear, and Assert your Seat
 at the Council Board. And you may do it with such appa-
 rent Evidences of being Acted by nothing but a Zeal for the
 Publick, that you may do it without any Dishonourable
 Charge of being Immodest, or Intruders. Without Consult-
 ing the Stars, we can foretell to ye, That if you Resolve to
 keep always in the Obsequious Strain, you'll at last Rowse
 the Representatives, both to Remove several of you, and to
 Dispute several Powers which you pretend unto; and espe-
 cially that of being able to *Sit by yourselves* in the time of the
 General Assembly; and by your Vote (without the Gover-
 nour's) to hamper the People with a Third Negative, (be-
 sides the Queen's, and the Governour's) which your Agent
 here says, *Your Charter never intended for you.*

S E C T. III.

WE have seen how the *Blanching* Business went on in the *Council*, Shall we now see how it Proceeded among the *Representatives*? We have been Told a very Odd Thing, That the Counsellors will sometimes *Outwardly* Comply with a Vote, which they *Inwardly* Approve not, in hopes that it will never be Carried in the Lower House. But, if this were an Honest, yet it is no Prudent Experiment: There is more than a *little* Danger in it. The Story of the Upper House, has the Truth of it enough Confirm'd by Judge *Sewall's* Instrument of Revocation, if we had not had the more Ample Relation, both from Packets and Passengers newly Arrived here. For the Story of the Lower House, we have it with a Confirmation (if it be possible) more Authentick. For here are come over Letters from a great part of the House, unto that Honourable Friend of *New-England*, and of all Good Men, Sir *Henry Ashurst*; one Signed by Seven, and afterwards another Signed by about Thrice that Number; both to the same Effect. By these we Understand, how Notoriously the World is Imposed upon.

On the *Fifth* of *November*, the *Plott* begun to Operate. A Message was brought by Sundry *Counsellors*, from their Board, to incite the House, that they would Concur with *Their Vote* for the Governour's Vindication. But the House for diverse Days, declined to Meddle with it; and then the like Message was brought again to the House, by a Greater Number of *Counsellors*. The House being thus at Length Drawn in, to Consider this Dirty Matter, there Appeared Mr. *John Nelson*, who having sent unto *Port-Royal*, one Hog's-head of Dry Goods, a Parcel of *Iron Potts* and *Seythes*, &c. by a Flag

Flag of Truce, whereof Capt. *Rouse* was Commander, now Declared, That he had the Governour's Allowance for it, and Capt. *Rouse* being Examined, made the same Declaration.

But this was a Trifle to the Next : The Gentlemen afore-said, we Believe had no Traiterous Design of Supplying the Queen's Enemies. But, when the Fort at *Port-Royal* had no Dry Lodgings for the Souldiers; nothing but a few Thatch'd things, that also Rendered it more Combustible to the Fire of the Besiegers; Now, to Supply the Fort with Nails to Shingle and Board their *Barecks* ! There Appeared Mr. *Samuel Baker*, who Produced unto the House the Original Invoyce, of things which he Shipp'd for the Governour and the Commissary at *Port-Royal*; with an Allowance for them, under Governour *Dudley's* own Hand. There is no need of Transcribing all the Articles; these are enough.

Eighty Thousand of *Shingle Nails*.

Twenty Thousand, *Ditto*, Board.

One Dozen of Black Hafted Table *Knives*.

One Hundred Weight of Good *Butter*.

Two Barrels of *Mackerel*.

One Piece of Good *Searge*.

One Cask of *Passado-Wine*,

Some *Rice*, &c.

I Know no Inconvenience in the Particulars above, and therefore Allow it.

J. DUDLEY.

These things were Ship'd on Board a *French Vessel*, Called, *A Flag of Truce*, (*Anglice*, of Trade) Capt. *De Chafeau* Commander. It was done at the very time, when the Governour and Assembly, were Fining *Veatch*, and Company, for a Trade as little Criminal: And when an Act of the *Massachusetts* Province had made it *Capital*. Some of the Council would feign have perswaded the House, that there was a *Cyphre* (their own *Name-sake* in the Council,) Added unto the 8, and the 2, of the Nails. But *Baker's* Confession, had Spoil'd that Idle Whim. The Governour's Friends, his Majors,

jors, Captains, Justices, and Feather-Caps in the House, and the meaner Slaves of the Trencher, used all Imaginable Artifices to Vindicate him : And yet, when it came to a Vote on November the Nineteenth, Whether, after strict Enquiry, the House could Clear his Excellency of Managing, or Countenancing a Private Trade with the French and Indian Enemies, The Vote Passed in the Negative, with a very great Majority. About Forty Five Members, more than Two to One, of the House, Voted, That they could not Clear him. He had, according to the New *Massachusetts* Sense of the Word, An *Unanimous Condemnation*.

On the Day following, there was a long Conference of Two Hours, held between the Two Houses, and chiefly Manag'd by the Governour. At this Conference there Occur'd several pretty little Things, which might be Diverting enough at the *Coffee-House*, but scarce Worthy to be Inserted in a more Serious Narrative. We'll Mention only Two of them.

A Counsellor, who had been a mighty Decrier of the Governour, while he was under his *Negative*, upon his Re-admission, becomes an Espouser of his Interest. This Gentleman greatly Exposed himself, by saying to the Assembly, *There is no Trade, but there are some Returns : I Pray, What Returns were there ? How can you say, this was a Trade carried on ?* This became a By-Word in the Town. They say, the Merchants of *Boston* often to their Sorrow, *Trade without Returns* : And we could Wish, That every Body here in *London*, who has Traded for *Boston*, could say, *There had always been Returns*.

Again, The Governour in his Flourishes, tells the Assembly, *To Support the Queen's Enemies with an Unlawful Trade, is to send them your Beef and your Pork, and not such things as are in this Invoice*. An Unlucky Old Man in the House, (they say from a Town call'd *Woburn*) Reply'd, 'Tis very True, an't like your Excellency, and your Butter, and your May-krill ! — Which gave such a Sting, That the Assembly saw, that if he be an *Happy Man*, who Latches a *Mackrel*, yet an *Unhappy Man* may be Caught with a *Mackrel*.

The next Day after this Conference, and after the Governour's Violent Protestations of his own *Innocence*, (as the Letters

Letters of the Representatives Assure us) the following Vote was again Press'd upon the House, *That we firmly Believe, and are of Opinion, that the Allegations in the Address (to which the Vote of the Council referr'd) of the Governour's Trading, or Allowing a Trade with Her Majesty's Enemies the French, and the Indians in their Interests, is a Scandalous and Wicked Accusation.* Still the Vote Passed, as formerly, in the Negative. The Squeamish Representatives, it seems, had not such Stomachs of *Ostriches*, as to Digest an *Hundred Thousand Iron Nails* at once ; nor would they Believe (no, tho' Counsellors told them so !) that *Nails* were not *Iron*. The Governour's Friends were now at their Wit's Ends ; — And in Humble wise, besought the House, That they would Confine their Vote unto the Particular Trade of *Vetch, Borland and Lawson*. And it was Urged, that *Borland and Lawson*, had Cleared the Governour ; (the Sham of the Grateful Merchants you shall hear anon !) Hereupon the Flexible Honest Men, perfectly Worried, and Wearied out of their Lives, by Three Week's Alterations, did so many go over, as to make a sort of a Vote of it. But the Conclusion of their Letters to Sir *Henry Ashurst*, (a Gentleman whom *New-England* can never sufficiently Requite) is, *Yourself, and all Persons may judge, how far the Vote of this House doth extend to the Vindicating of his Excellency from being a Countenancer of Trade with the Queen's Enemies !*

We have already Intimated, how the Governour comes to have so many Friends in the House ; that are so set upon doing him Justice, Right or Wrong. Besides the Caresses of the *Table*, which are enough to Dazzle an Honest Country-man, who Thinks every Body Means what he Speaks ; The Influence which Preferments and Commissions have upon little Men, is inexpressible. It must needs be a Mortal Sin, to Disoblige a Governour, that has Inabled a Man to Command a whole Country Town, and to Strut among his Neighbours, with the Illustrious Titles of, *Our Major*, and, *The Captain*, or, *His Worship*. Such magnificent Grandeurs, make many to Stagger Egregiously ! If it be but Proposed in the Assembly, that any Mismanagements of the Governour be Enquired into, we are Informed, that some of those Officers
have

have been so Insolent, as to move, *That he who made the Proposal should be set in the Pillory !* We perceive, the well-affected part of the Assembly, take much Notice of this ! And it seems, there was in this Assembly, one Occasion Odder than the rest, to take Notice of it.

There was a Representative of *Ipswich*, who formerly falling in with the Interests of the Country, so Provoked Colonel *Dudley*, that in a Printed Pamphlet, Published by him, (or, the Person who Wrote for him, so as to make it He) he Reproached the Country. That such a Figure should be made in the Assembly, by one who was then a Practising *Sow-Gelder*. This Practising *Sow-Gelder* (as Mr. *Dudley* calls him) was a Member of this Assembly, and unto the Surprize of the Whole House, Tack'd about, and gone over to Colonel *Dudley's* Interests ; tho' 'tis not many Months ago, that we have (now in *London*) his Hand with others, unto an Honest Letter, to that Honourable Person, Sir *Henry Ashurst*, to Solicit his Endeavours to Deliver the Country from a Plot against the *Charter*, and all the Courts of Justice in it, with a Sham Court of *Chancery*, (or rather of Bribery) which Governour *Dudley* was then Pursuing. We are told, he has (for we know not what Reasons) a Number in the House, who Resign themselves up to him, for him to do almost what he will with them ; they follow *his* Dictates. The main Things that have been Carried in the late Assembly at *Boston*, otherwise than they should have been, were owing to his Dexterous Operations. Every Body said, *This man has in his Eye, a Bribe, as the Reward of his Apostacy.* He'll certainly be made a *Justice*, as soon as his Drudgery in gaining the *Vote* aforesaid, is over ! It came to pass ; — As soon as the *Sham-Vote*, which has Abused the World in your Foolish News-Letter yonder, was Gained, the Governour draws the Council in, to Consent, unto their own Immortal Honour, that this Gentleman *Sow-Gelder* should be made a *Justice of Peace* ! *Fy*, Gentlemen, What d'ye do ? — And so the *Worshipful* of your County of *Essex*, have the Practising *Sow-Gelder* aforesaid, (it was Mr. *Dudley* who taught us to call him so !) sit on the Bench with them. Whether the *Cattle* are in less Danger, or the *People* in more, since this Promotion, we who are

are Strangers to the Man, except by hearsay, know not ; we suppose there never was a *Som-Gelder* made a Justice, except in *New England*, and that not till *Dudley* was their Governour.

But, it were Good Advice for the People of *New-England*, in Chusing Representatives, to beware of Chusing too many, who have their Obligations to their Governours, for their Preferments and Employments. The fewer you have in your Assemblies under such Temptations, the more Faithfully are your Affairs like to be carried on. You will Pardon Strangers, if their Good Will to you, make them so far Meddlers, as to Offer you their Opinion.

S E C T.

S E C T. IV.

THE House of Representatives then *Firmly Believe, and are of Opinion*, That their Governour was not Concerned in Trading with *Vetch, Borland, and Lawson*. Others do Firmly Believe the Contrary. Because, diverse Traders have Own'd, and said before many Witnesses, that their Governour did Know, and Allow of what they did ; *Vetch* doth himself Confess it, in his Petition to the Queen. And when One of them Swears in the Governour's Vindication, he only means, that the Governour was not Concern'd as a Merchant, or a Partner with them. He Ship'd nothing ; there was nothing Shipp'd on his Account. All this is nothing to the Purpose. And tho' Col. *Dudley* should be Clear of having any thing to do with these Three Grateful Merchants, yet there is another who is able to make Discoveries.

In the same Condemnation with the Three aforesaid, there was at this time, under Imprisonment, by Vertue of the Sentence which the *General Assembly* had Illegally, (and it now appears Oppressively) passed upon him, for a part in an Unlawful Trade, one Captain *Rouse*. The last General Assembly growing Sensible of his Condition, Voted his being let out upon Bail, that he might enjoy his Liberty. But, for a Reason, which he will tell in due time, the *Vote* was in a great Measure Eluded.

It is Reported by some now in *London*, That the Assembly's Vote to set *Rouse* at Liberty, was made very Insignificant, by means of one said to be a *Tory Judge*, one *Leveret*. And they say, that *Dudley* has made that *Tory Lawyer*, to be President of their *Colledge*. No Question but the Lawyer will bring up Hopeful Young Divines, to be sent hither for my Lord of *London* to Ordain them. We hear that they have Sung the *Gloria Patri* in their *Colledge-Hall* already, and that several
of

of their Clergy stood up at it. An Auspicious beginning under their Lawyer President, who, we also hear, was Chosen a Lieutenant of their Artillery Company at *Boston*, the last Summer. Such Reports as these, make their Friends here, think that the People in *New-England* are running Mad.

But to Proceed with Captain *Rouse*. Several of his Letters are come to *London*, whereby we Understand, " That
 " he having been sent unto *Port-Royal*, on a Service for the
 " Publick, in which he did Good Service, returned Home
 " under a Languishing Sickneſs. A way being by this first
 " Voyage open'd for a Private Trade between *Port-Royal*
 " and *Boston*, he was Invited into a New Trading Voyage ;
 " being told, *He had Eaten the Sowre, he ſhould now Eat the*
 " *Sweet*. Governour *Dudley* told him, *His main Buſineſs was*
 " *to Steer clear of the Officers of the Cuſtom-Houſe*. And the
 " Matter was Propoſed ſo Advantageouſly, that ſome Body
 " preſſed him to make the Governour a Preſent of an Hun-
 " dred Pounds, for the Liberty and Advantage which was
 " to be Allow'd him. Becauſe he lay Sick, *he had Nothing,*
 " and *ſaw Nothing* aboard, but what had been Shipp'd by
 " others Concerned in the Voyage. He went and made the
 " Beſt of his Goods ; and for *this*, and nothing but *this*, he
 " undergone a Fine of *Twelve Hundred Pounds*.

" Diverſe Perſons, and eſpecially a certain *Lady*, came to
 " him ſeveral times in the Priſon, before his Trial ; and this
 " as from the Governour, to Perſuade him and the reſt, to
 " Petition the Aſſembly, to take their *Trial* into their own
 " Hands ; (which the Governour had himſelf Propoſed unto
 " the Aſſembly) with many fair Promiſes, that in a Week's
 " time, or very Quickly, the Governour would ſo Manage
 " the Aſſembly, as to bring them abroad again, without any
 " further Trouble. Continual Communications paſſed be-
 " tween *Roxbury* and the Priſon ; and thoſe Good Offices
 " were done, for which *Paul Dudley*, the Governour's Son,
 " received of *Borland* and *Lawſon*, (as they have Affirmed)
 " at one time, a Preſent of *Eighteen Pounds*. They came
 " with frequent Meſſages, to keep Captain *Rouse* in a Good,
 " Pliant, Silent Humour, and prevent his Telling of Tales.
 " Juſt before his Trial, a Meſſenger came from the Governour

to him, to Desire him, *That if the Governour should Speak any Sharp Things to him, he would not Retort any thing, or Misconstrue it ; for he might Assure himself, he was his Hearty Friend.* He would carry on the General Assembly as far as was Convenient, but then, at last, bring off the Matter, and prevent their doing any Harm. Capt. Rouse accordingly kept Counsel ; the Trial went on, and the Fine anon, proves as we told ye, *Twelve Hundred Pounds.* The Governour's Son, could not Demand of Rouse, as he did of Cauphin, a Present of Twenty Pounds to the Governour, for bringing his Fine so low.

After this, Capt. Rouse is frequently Solicited to make the Governour a Present of *Five or Six Hundred Pounds ;* with Assurances, that the Governour would find a way for his Liberty, tho' he were now Imprison'd by an Act of the Assembly. He still Refused it ; resolving to wait for Her Majesty's Disallowance of that Illegal Act. He Wrote Letters to the Governour, Intreating him to procure a Mitigation of his Hard Circumstances, because he had done nothing, but with Countenance from his Excellency. The Governour told the Messenger, that Rouse must Write another sort of Letter to him ; which the Messenger Explained, with telling him, that he must Write, *That the Governour had no Concern with what was done.* But this he would never do. We hear that he continues Waiting for an Opportunity, to bring more fully to Light, many other things, besides these that have been Mentioned.

These being the main Strokes of what Captain Rouse has thought fit as yet to Declare of his Case ; we don't Wonder, that the Practising *Sow-Gelder* thought fit to Castrate the Vindicating Vote of Rouse's Name : But we may well Wonder, that the House would be drawn into a Vote, that was Design'd for a Blind, and a Sham, to Impose on People at a Distance ; and yet, at such a Distance as we are, we can See thro' it ! At the same time, the Counsellors and Representatives, even the most Antient *Blanchers* among them, would (as we are Assured) freely say to the Expostulators of their Conduct, which they every where met withal, *That if the Governour had put them upon Clearing him from*
gross

gross Briberies and Corruptions, they could not have Cleared him. Well, but why don't they Search into those things ? For they have a Tendency to Debauch and Ruin the Country, and make it a Vile, and a Forlorn Country. We are told, their Answer is, 'Tis *too Big* a Thing for them to Manage : They Wish the Queen would Grant a *Commission of Enquiry*. And People have been Afraid to Tell what they Know ; for the Governour and his Son, between them, have (thought they) Numberless Ways to come up with 'em ; and, 'tmay be, they will Press their Sons to the *Castle*, or elsewhere ; from whence they shall be Sold unto Merchant-Ships, and sent out of the Country. Or, they may shortly have some Cause in Court, where the Queen's Attorney (the Governour's Son) Reigns *Lord and King* ; and will take Effectual Care that the Cause go against them. Others go on, *That those are little things ; they do so in England ; such things must be borne with !* Which is indeed, a Cruel Reproach on the Queen's Government. And Lastly, the Sharpest of all will tell ye, *Oh ! the Governour is our Father ; we must not be such Sons of Cham, as to Uncover the Nakedness of our Father.* And thus until the New Governour Arrive, who being a Man of Integrity, will Honour himself by a Strict Enquiry into such Things, there is like to be no Distinct Account brought in, to Inform the World,

What Wicked *Bribes*, by a Juggling Management between the Governour and his Son, [for, as we Told you before, *You must go to my Son !*] are Extorted on all the Occasions in the World !

How Prisoners have been let out of Prison for a Bribe !

How Men in the Officers Hands, upon a *Judgment for Debt*, have by the Governour's Arbitrary Command, been set at Liberty !

How Criminals in the Hands of Justice, being Frighted with a Prospect of their Punishment, into a Willingness to go to Sea, the Governour sends an Order to the Keeper to Sell 'em for Ten Pounds ; and so they are sent away to Sea !

What a Wicked Trade is carried on, of *Selling Men* from the Castle, &c. to Merchant-men ; by which, poor Men have their Sons Kidnapp'd into the *Indies*, where the *French* Catch

Catch 'em, and they Perish in their Prisons! And what intolerable Pensions are Paid by Officers for their Places; (by which, and the like means, the War, which Impoverishes the whole Country, has Inriched the Governour) which introduces a World of Mismanagement! And, Whether a Lieutenant, whose Salary is but Sixty Pounds a Year, must not Pay Thirty Pounds a Year Pension to *Son Paul*, or be turn'd out! *Cum multis alijs.*

What would have been the Punishment of such things in Old King *Alfred's* Days? These things make a louder Cry, than can be Stifled by the Noise of all your *silly Addresses*.

We don't Wonder to see *Addresses* for such a Governour's Continuance, come over hither, Signed by his *Commission Officers*. They are but *Addresses* for their own Continuance. The Royal Wisdom is not so to be Impos'd on.

But We can't but Smile to see the *Clergy* of *New-England* so Easily Drawn in to Sign *Addresses* of this Nature. We are Glad, that we can't see the Hands of the most eminent Ministers, to these *Addresses*. By which we gather, That the Governour has sent his Emissaries here and there into Country-Towns, and Surprizes their Honest Ministers alone, and so many Arts of Insinuation are used, that they have not Presence of Mind enough, to Refuse a *Subscription* unto any thing that is Offered them. We do not see the Ministers of *Boston*, nor the Judicious Minister of *Roxbury*, (your Governour's Pastor) to any of those *Addresses* which you have been Wheedled into, not at all to your Credit here.

Certainly, when these Honest Gentlemen come to see the Practices of their Governour Discovered, they will with Grief and Shame Reflect upon the *Addresses*, by which they have too far made themselves *Parties* to such a Governour. Some of them will Consider, Whether they had not best follow the Noble Pattern which their Judge *Sewall* has given them. Gentlemen, Such things as by common Fame, you know to be in the Conduct of your Governour, are not things which must needs Render a *Man acceptable to God, and to all Good Men*. — That Expression were fitter for Pen of *Roman-Catholicks*, than of *New-England* Ministers. You ought, with some Remorse to make a Retraction of such

such a Passage as that, which we hear (by Letters, for we have not seen it) is in one of your *Addresses*. We hope you Teach your People better things !

You are generally, so far as we hear, Good, Pious, Faithful Men, and Blessings to your People. But if we may be worthy to Advise you, we think, you would do well to Resolve, that you will never Sign *Addresses* of this Nature, till you have had Opportunity in some *Convention* (if you have such Things, for we are Strangers to your Methods) to Discourse with one another, how far it may be Convenient.

We have heard, that of Old Time, there were some *Oxen*, who had the Wisdom to Resolve, that they would no one of them, have any Talk with *Monsieur the Lyon*, apart : Allow us to tell you, if you go on Signing such *Addresses*, you will strangely Undermine your own Authority among your People, and Sacrifice your own Reputation to your Governours. You'll Tempt 'em to say, *That you'll set your Hands to any thing !* Your Predecessors would not have done, as you have done. And, what a *Sword* do such *Addresses* put into your Resolute Governours Hands ! He may now Oppress you, or any of yours, to the last Degree, and you have Tied yourselves up from Complaining of him Were not GOD Merciful to you, in removing such a Governour, you had *enslaved* your Country before you are aware of it. If you'll permit such as are no *Clergy-men*, to Address you with Stories out of Old *Councils*, we could tell you, That the First Council of *Orleans*, A. C. 52, made a strange Decree, *That if a Bishop Ordain a Slave, to be a Priest, knowing him to be a Slave, shall pay double the Price of him to his Master.* We know not well, what sort of a World it was, when this *Decree* was made. All that we move you to, Gentlemen, is, That at your next General Council, you would make a Decree, *That none of you shall be Slaves, or, do any thing that shall fasten the Fetters of Slavery upon your People.* We believe, That if you had known your *Addresses* would have come too late, (as some of them have) and Exposed you to be Laughed at, you would have had more Wit, than to have done as you have. We suppose you have heard what befell the Lord *Verulam*, for permitting his Servant to take a Bribe, and what was lately

tately done to Sir J. T. because he did like your Governour take a Bribe to promote the Passing a Bill. Certainly, if you had known your Governour had been guilty of such Briberies, and other Male-Administrations, as not only Christian, but Heathen Princes have Punish'd with the greatest Severity, you would not have Signed your *Ignorant Addresses*.

Before we Proceed to give an Account of the late Shameful Expedition of the *New-Englanders*, against *Port-Royal*. We shall take some farther Notice, of what Gentlemen worthy of Credit do Assure us. One Writes, That a Gentleman in *New-England*, when he first heard, that Colonel *Dudley* had Obtained a Commission to be Governour there, said, *That he could not Believe, that a Man who had been a Traytor to his Country, and an Apostate from the Religion in which he had been Educated; and that had Murder'd two Men at New-York, better, and more Righteous than himself, would prove a Good Governour.*

Another Letter says, That the Misery of that People of late, has been in their *Counsellors*, as well (tho' not so much) as in their *Governour*. The Priviledges which they enjoy by their present *Charter*, are Great and Singular: For, no Man, but such as the People shall Nominate by their Representative, can be of the Governour's Council. Nor, may there be any *Judge*, or *Justice of the Peace*, but what the Council thus Chosen by the Representatives of the People, shall Consent unto. So that they may, and Ought to be *Shields* to the People, by keeping ill Men from being in Places of Power. Yet we hear, that their Governour has made a Number of very Unfit Men to be their *Justices*; and this with the Consent of his Council, without which he could make none. So that it seems, these Great Priviledges signify very little, through the Pusillanimity, and Unfaithfulness of their Governour's *Counsellors*, who will, too many of them, Consent to almost any thing that he would have them. Witneis, besides the Things already mentioned, among other innumerable Instances, so many of them Consenting to have a Fort Built at *Pemaquid*, and a stated Salary settled upon the Governour, and other Officers, by which they had like to have Enslaved their Country at once.

The

The Representatives are also to be Blamed, in that they do not *Change their Counsellors*. We know, that they want Men fit for Government. Nevertheless, we doubt not but in the large Province of *Massachusetts*, there may be found an Hundred Men, as fit to be Counsellors, as *S. S.* or *J. C.* or *P. T.* [we deal more Tenderly with *them*, in giving but the First Letters of their Names, than they have Dealt with the Honourable *Nathaniel Higginson*, whom they have, by Name at large, Vilified, as a *Scandalous and Wicked Accuser*.] And others, who by their Obsequiousness to *D.* have justly Forfeited the Love of the People.

Had their Representatives the Wisdom frequently to *Change their Counsellors*, it would make them more Careful to Study the Interest of their People, and not that so they may Please their Governour, and Stigmatize better Men than themselves, in their *Boston News-Letter*, only because they *Slandred D. in a matter of Truth*.

We are also Advised from *New-England*, That *D.* has Exposed himself to the whole Colony of *Connecticut*. They Dislike him there more Universally than in the *Massachusetts*. For he is not in a Capacity to *Bribe* Men there with his *Commissions*, Civil or Military. But he has joyned a Hellish Malice with the worst Men, and greatest Enemies of the *Charter* belonging to that Colony, in seeking to Disturb them in the quiet Possession of their Lands. A Commission was Obtained, in which *Dudley* was Chief, but others, who pretended to have a Right to Great Tracts of Land, were put into the *Commission*, with Power to be Judges of their own *Pretensions*; the like to this has been seldom known. But when that Honourable Gentleman, who has Condescended to be their Agent, discovered the Fraud of this Affair before the Queen in *Council*, Praying that Her Majesty would put some Remarkable *Discountenance* on said *Dudley*, that *Commission* was soon Vacated, to his no little Confusion.

S E C T. V.

THAT Honourable Person before-mentioned, who is here Appearing on the Behalf of one of the *N. English Colonies*, which Colonel *Dudley* has been seeking to Enslave, saw cause to Conclude his Petition, with a Complaint against him in these Terms; *Your Majesty's Name and Authority is Abused to Serve some Dark Designs of his own.* It seems he is used to *Dark Designs*; but if ever *Dark Designs* were to be Suspected, it has been in the Business of that Late Expedition to *Port-Royal*; an Expedition, that besides the everlasting Disgrace of it, has entirely Ruined the Country, and made it highly Necessary for another Governour to be sent thither, to Rescue that poor People, if it be possible, from Extirpation. We have pretty *Broad Hints* of an *Unlawful Trade* carried on with the Fort at *Port-Royal*. And besides the things already mentioned, it is well known, that when *Flags of Truce* passed between *Port-Royal* and *Boston*, the Officers of the *Custom-House* at *Boston*, were Obstructed from going aboard those *Flags of Truce*, that so the Trade carried on with the Enemy, might be Concealed. And when Goods have been Siezed on Board the *Flags of Truce*, they have been again taken out of the Hands of the Officers. But we must now proceed to a Sadder Story. The Short of the Story is this. But the *Dark Designs* must be left for another Judgment.

When the War first broke out, the People of *New-England*, especially the Trading part of the Country, and those that were more immediately Concerned in the *Fishery*, were very Uneasy to see *Port-Royal*, which was then of no considerable Strength, advancing into a Capacity of Distressing, if not Ruining the Province. It is so near, and so seated, as to have all imaginable Advantage to Animate, and Supply the

the *Indians*, by *Land*; and by *Sea*, with *Privateers*, to Destroy their *Fishery*, and Ruin all their other Trade, by Intercepting, and Taking their Vessels, both Outward and Inward Bound. Their Fort was but an *Embryo*, and it was thought they might have been easily Suppressed.

The *New-Englanders* understood by a *Port-Royaller* falling into their Hands, that at *Port-Royal* they had not yet Heard of the War broken out. Whereupon Governour *Dudley* was earnestly Solicited, and his Leave Intreated by some, to go and Destroy that Nest of *Hornets*, which was like to be so Grievous a growing Plague to the Country; with Offers to raise Volunteers sufficient for that Purpose: But the Proposal was Rejected; which made People Suspect some *Dark Designs*, and that *Port-Royal* was reserved for some special Advantages not Obvious to the Vulgar.

Afterwards, when the Governour could no longer withstand the Cry of the Country, Colonel *Church* was Allow'd to go. The Assembly procured a Mortar-piece, and provided Bombs, and other things Convenient, and had some Eye upon the Fort, which was not then finish'd. Yet the said *Church* not only had the Taking of the Fort left out of his Orders, but was positively *Forbidden* to Meddle with it. And he hath since Affirm'd to many Gentlemen, that he could with all the Ease imaginable have Taken the Fort, but that he had been so Strictly and Menacingly *Forbidden* to meddle with it, that he Durst not; but only Ravaged the Naked Country. *Church's* Soldiers were all *Volunteers*, and an *Act of the Assembly* for their Encouragement had Promised them a certain Share of the Plunder: But the Chief Commanders first made a large Present out of it to the Governour; and then *He*, joining with them, Cut off the Army of Half that the *Publick Faith* had Engaged them; which it was feared, would have proved a lasting Discouragement to all *Volunteers* for the Service of the Crown and the Country: And the House of Representatives Remonstrated unto the Governour, this among other Grievances; but were Rejected with Obstinate Contempt.

The Reason Pretended by the Governour, for Prohibiting *Church's* meddling with the Fort, was, That he had laid the

Matter before the Queen, and had yet received no Orders about it. Tho' the same Objection still continued, yet the People being extreemly Desirous that a Period might be put to their Miseries from *Port-Royal*, and a Way open'd for the Deliverance of many Scores of Poor *English* Captives, likely to Languish for ever in the *Indian Wigwams*, Moved for another Expedition above a Year ago. The Governour now gives a Commission for *Taking the Fort*; but whether with any *Dark Designs*, we are yet in the *Dark*. After the Instructions were drawn up, there was a Clause *Tack'd* at the End of 'em, which gave the Army Leave to come off when they would, if they should Imagine, they could not presently Finish their Business to their Minds. It was the *Tacking* of this unobserved Clause at last, that Confounded all, and brought on a Story, which all the Letters from *New-England* we have yet seen, say, *They Blush to Write it*. And that is the Reason why we can yet give but a Short Account of it. In Short, There was an Army of as Likely Men as can be Imagined, the best part of Two Thousand of them; and as well provided with Ammunition, Provision, and all things Necessary, as a *Willing Country* could Afford. But, when it comes to Execution, quite Contrary to the best Advice of them who Knew the Place, they Landed several Miles off the Fort, when they might have Landped close by, and probably at once have taken it. However, Land they did; and Drove the Enemy before them, and Chased them into the Fort with much Courage and all the Encouragement that could be. The Men, to do them Justice, Fought like Men, and would have done any thing in the World. — But, lo, the Issue! The *Deptford* Man of War, which was *Commodore* of the Fleet, had Express Orders from the Governour, *That he should not Expose the Queen's Ship*. Which Orders he afterwards Exposed in the *Coffee-Houses*. An Engineer was fetch'd from *New-York*, where the People from the beginning fore-told what would be the Conclusion. The Governour's Youngest Son, *Wm. Dudley*, was there too, in the Quality of a Secretary of War; and tho' he were little more than a Boy, yet he was a Son, and the Army soon Cry'd out of being *Boy-ridden*. The General, a Man of no Conduct, having Signaliz'd something

thing of a *Belluine* Courage in some *Indian* Encounters, the *Mob* ('tis said) was set upon having him to be a Commander. They landed as we said; but then they never made a *Formal Demand* of the Fort; they never carried a-shore a *Mortar* or a *Field-Piece*; they never Threw up a *Shovel-full* of Earth. The Business was so managed, between certain Persons, that altho' at a *Council of War*, one Day it was Voted, That the Fort should be Attack'd, it was by'nd by, Unvoted again. The Engineer had wrought upon sundry Captains, to make 'em Believe, That the taking of the Fort was Impracticable. They most of them gave it under their Hands to their Wise General, That it was their Opinion, it was best for 'em to Draw off. The Soldiers began also to be Dispirited, for some had Blabb'd among them a Secret, which, when it came to be Known, made 'em out of their Wits. Tho' it was Known and Published here in *London*, before the Fleet was returned from *Port-royal*. The General Assembly had Agreed, and Engaged, That if the Fort were Taken, it should immediately be Demolished; and without this Assurance the Army would never have Proceeded. But some Body now, Indiscreetly let 'em Understand, that the Governour had some *Dark Designs*, to put a Trick upon them, and had given him Orders not to Demolish the Fort: Whereupon the Inraged Army said, They had now nothing to do, but Fight themselves into a Prison! They were mostly Good Livers at Home, and could not bear the Thoughts on't, that Half the Army, (no Man knowing, whether it might not be his own Share) should be Confined there one long Winter in a remote Garrison, and perhaps, Two Winters after that; or until they should Buy themselves a Release upon as Hard Terms, as the poor Country-Soldiers have, to get out of the Castle at *Boston*. Well: A Packet is Dispatch'd unto the Governour of *Boston*, to Signify their Opinion, and to Pray his Excellency's further Pleasure. But in Three or Four Days after the Sailing of the Packet, and before it was Possible for them to Hear from *Boston*, they drew off in great Confusion, and Weigh'd Anchor, and came away. But as they were in the midst of their Dispersion, there came Orders to stop as many of them, as were together, at *Casco-Bay*. From thence

they sent Three Persons to Acquaint the Governour with the Miserable Affair; whereof one was the *Engineer* aforesaid. They had a very Melancholly, and almost a Tumultuous Reception by the People; and when they were, at their first Landing, upbraided with Cowardice, their Answer still was, *The Fault was at Home; and they had gone as far as their Orders would bear them out!* With sundry such Reflections, which bore Hard upon the Government. The Council were Informed of this Discourse; but there was no Notice taken of it. And tho' they were Chidden by the Governour, in the Council Chamber, yet we understand, they were Hugg'd and Caress'd by him, below Stairs, to the great Scandal of the People. The People were now in a mighty Ferment. It was the Universal Opinion, That if the Army had only staid, and Plaied at Coits in their Camp (far enough from the Fort) at *Port-royal*, the Fort would have been within a few Days Surrendred to them. The Soldiers within were Mutinous to the last Degree; Deserters Daily came over. Provisions would have grown Scanty in a little Time. [Tho' the Lodgings of their Men were not now Thatch'd! (the Reason why, we told ye before) yet a Red-hot Bullet or Two, slung into the Fort, might have set 'em on Fire.] Ten Thousand Things might have happened. But, like Men afraid of having the Fort fall into their Hands, they ran back to *New-England* as fast as their *Canvas* Sails could carry them. The Good Women in *Boston*, could not forbear their Outcries, when they met in the Streets, on this Occasion. Says one of them, *Why, our Cowards imagined that the Fort at Port-Royal would fall before them, like the Walls of Jericho.* Another Answers, *Why did not the Bloek-heads then stay out Seven Days to see! What ail'd the Traitors to come away in Five Days time after they got there!* The Cry of the People must be Satisfied. Another Ship of War was fitted out, and Recruits of Soldiers were sent unto the Fleet, which now lay at *Casco-Bay*. Which after Tedious and Expensive Delays of many Weeks, set Sail from thence again to *Port-royal*; but with the greatest Aversion that ever was in the Hearts of Men; and not until they had been further weakened by many and numerous Desertions. While they were on their Voyage

to *Port-royal*, a Man of War arrived from *Portugal*; the brave Commander (a *New-Englander*) was ready to Venture his Ship and Life too on this Occasion; and Chearfully Complied with Orders which were with some ado Obtained, for him to go to *Port-Royal* after them. Our Fleet arriving there a Second Time, found that in the time of their withdraw to *Casco*, the *Port-royalers* had much Recruited themselves; and had Taken and carried in some *English* Vessels, laden with Provision; and had also Dispatch'd away their Galley for *France*.

Therefore, after a little Skirmish on the opposite Shore, and some Follies not to be mention'd, away they come for *Boston*, without Orders, and before Capt. *Paddon* could have Opportunity to come up with 'em. So that the Second Expedition was as Bad, or more Worse than the first.

After the Expedition was thus Shamefully Finish'd, there was another Difficult Card to Play,; that was, to Satisfy the General Assembly, which was then Quickly to sit. The way pitch'd upon was, to make a Pretended Court-Martial, to Enquire into the Cause of the Mismanagements at *Port-royal*. This Court was the Ridicule of Town and Country. No Body was Try'd at it, or so much as Accused. All was carried on in *Hugger-mugger*. We can Hear of nothing done; but the Presenting of the Secretary of War, *Will. Dudley*, with all the Plunder which was taken; and amounted to between One and Two Hundred Pounds, and then leave to go Home! It is plain, the General was not to be Impeached there; 'tis well, if it has not Ruined the Governour, as well as the distressed Country, yet we hear the Governour, before the fitting of the said Court, gave him an Order for an Advantageous Post at the *East-ward*; to Build a Fort at *Saco*, because he would not take one at *Port-royal*; as High and Rich a Post, as he was ever capable of.

And so much for *Port-royal*, until the dark designs come into further Light. And then it will be known whether Governour *D.* when he saw the Country was Violently set upon going, and so Interrupting his Trade with the *French*, had not a Secret Design that the Fort at *Port-royal* should have been made (as the Fort at *Pemaquid* would have been) a Convenient

Convenient Place for the *Fur-Trade* with the *Indians*, where, by himself, and some Friends of his here, in *Britain*, would have got no little Riches. In the mean time, under his Admirable Conduct, an-impoverish'd Countrey has, (as we are credibly informed) been put to above Two and Twenty-Thousand Pounds Charge, fonly to be Laughed of by their Enemies, and Pitied by their Friends.

To the *QUEEN*'s most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble Petition of Your Majesty's most Loyal Subjects, Inhabitants in Your Majesty's Dominions in *America*, or Trading thither.

SHEWETH,

THAT Colonel Joseph Dudley, whose Arbitrary and Tyrannical Proceedings had Exposed him to the just Resentments of his Country-men, before the Happy Revolution, hath been nevertheless so Fortunate, as to Obtain the Government of the *Massachusetts*'s Colony in *New-England*.

That Your Petitioners are Certainly Informed of diverse Grievous Corruptions and Oppressions, and Unjust and Partial Practices of the said Dudley, on which they might Ground many Complaints against him, but they are so Sensible of the imminent Danger which Threatens Your Majesty's Subjects in that and the Neighbouring Colonies, thro' his Male Administration, that they at this time Beg Leave Humbly and Singly to represent to Your Majesty.

That the said Dudley hath Countenanced a private Trade and Correspondence with Your Majesty's Enemies, the French at *Canada*, and the *Indians* which are in their Interest, Furnishing them with Ammunition and Provision.

That

That the Persons managing the said Correspondence, pretended a Voyage to New-found-Land, and being Accused of High Treason by the General Assembly of New-England, the said Governour by his Interest and Power, delayed their Prosecution, till the Ammunition with which he had furnish'd the Enemy was used by them, to the Destruction of Your Majesty's good Subjects, and that Colony, thereby put to Three and Thirty Thousand Pounds Charge.

That many of the best, and most prudent Members of the Lower House of Representatives, being tired with his Delays, and Necessitated to go Home and defend their Plantations from the Enemy, he prevailed with those that remained, who were scarce a House, that the Accusations against his Agents, should be changed from Treason to Misdemeanour; and they being Convicted, he Laboured to Mitigate their Fines. All which was so Apparent to the People of New England, that they threatned to pull down his House.

That he had the Confidence nevertheless, to Apply to the General Assembly for an Address to Your Majesty in his Favour, but his Application was received with a general Murmur and Contempt, and nothing done therein.

And altho' he hath since Endeavour'd to obtain Your Majesty's Good Opinion by Collecting a Number of Names of Persons under his Command and Influence to give him a Character.

Your Majesty's Petitioners, who Apprehend their Wives Families, and Estates to be in Imminent danger under such a Government, do therefore Humbly Pray, that this matter may be speedily Enquired into, and that Your Majesty would Please to give such Directions thereupon, as to Your Majesty's Great Wisdom shall seem meet.

And Your Petitioner's shall ever Pray, &c.

Wm. Partridge. Thomas Newton, Nathan. Higginson,
Tho. Allen, Alex. Holmes, John Calley, &c. &c. &c.



